DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 290 602 RC 016 551

AUTHOR Fuguitt, Glenn V.; And Others
TITLE Nonmetropolitan Population Deconcentration in the 1980s. CDE Working Paper 87-34.
INSTITUTION Wisconsin Univ., Madison. Center for Demography and Ecology.
SPONS AGENCY Economic Research Service (DOA), Washington, DC. Agriculture and Rural Economics Div.; National Inst. of Child Health and Human Development (NIH), Bethesda, Md. Center for Population Research.; Wisconsin Univ., Madison. Coll. of Agricultural and Life Sciences.
PUB DATE 87
NOTE 33p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society (Madison, WI, August 12-15, 1987).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Census Figures; Comparative Analysis; Demography; Population Distribution; *Population Trends; *Rural Areas; Rural Development; *Rural Population; Trend Analysis; *Urban to Rural Migration
IDENTIFIERS Census 1960; Census 1970; Census 1980; *Counties; Impact Studies

ABSTRACT

Several demographic aspects of population concentration and deconcentration within the nonmetropolitan sector during 1960-1984 are examined using census data. Relative rates of urban and rural growth during 1960-70, 1970-80, and 1980-84 are compared. Shifts in the proportion of nonmetropolitan counties experiencing rural growth during 1980-84 are identified. The changing proportion of counties experiencing urban-rural deconcentration are documented. Temporal shifts in the character of nonmetropolitan urban-rural deconcentration are studied. Findings indicated that the 1970s saw a widespread pattern of population deconcentration within the country. This included population decline in the nation's largest cities, a continuing pattern of metropolitan suburbanization, more rapid growth in smaller than larger Metropolitan Statistical Areas, population redistribution away from the densely-settled North, and a reversal in growth patterns between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas. The 1970s produced a widespread pattern of growth favoring rural over urban nonmetropolitan areas, affecting most areas of the country and types of counties. The unprecedented pattern of urban-rural deconcentration continued into the 1980s, despite a diminution in overall levels of nonmetropolitan growth and a return to faster overall metropolitan than nonmetropolitan growth. The interdependence between the demographic process and many interrelated aspects of the economy and society makes predictions about future population deconcentrations difficult. (NEC)

ED290602

Center For Demography And Ecology
University of Wisconsin-Madison

RECEIVED
FEB 1988
ERIC/CRESS

NONMETROPOLITAN POPULATION DECONCENTRATION IN THE 1980s

Glenn V. Fuguitt
Daniel T. Lichter
Max J. Pfeffer
Robert M. Jenkins

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☑ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Glenn Fuguitt

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

CDE Working Paper 87-34

RC016551

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

NONMETROPOLITAN POPULATION DECONCENTRATION IN THE 1980s

Glenn V. Fuguitt
Department of Rural Sociology
University of Wisconsin-Madison
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Daniel T. Lichter
Department of Sociology
The Pennsylvania State University
University Park, Pennsylvania 16802

Max J. Pfeffer
Department of Rural Sociology
University of Wisconsin-Madison
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Robert M. Jenkins
Department of Sociology
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, Madison, Wisconsin, August 12-15, 1987. This research has been supported by the College of Agricultural and Life Sciences, University of Wisconsin-Madison and by the Agricultural and Rural Economics Division, U.S. Department of Agriculture, through a cooperative agreement, and by the Center for Demography and Ecology, University of Wisconsin-Madison through grant #HD05876 from the Center for Population Research of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.

NONMETROPOLITAN POPULATION DECONCENTRATION IN THE 1980s

For decades, urban growth in the United States has been accompanied by the spread of population settlement. In his international study of the growth of cities in the 19th century, Weber (1899) noted this movement in the United States and other countries. With the coming of the automobile, population deconcentration around large cities increased in relative importance as settlements spread widely into formerly rural areas. The prevalence of this growth lead to the adoption of the metropolitan area as a unit of demographic and economic analysis beginning in 1950. By means of this concept one may generalize that at least throughout this century until 1970, the settlement process of the nation can be succinctly described as one of population concentration into metropolitan areas and deconcentration within these areas.

Although less often a topic of investigation, population changes within nonmetropolitan areas have also undergone several significant transformations during this century (Ballard and Fuguitt, 1985; Johnson and Purdy, 1980). In this paper, we examine several demographic aspects of population concentration and deconcentration within the nonmetropolitan sector during the 1960-84 period. Historically, differential growth occurred in larger nonmetropolitan places, many of which subsequently "grew up" to be reclassified as metropolitan (Fuguitt and Beale, 1976). Like the metropolitan sector, nonmetropolitan urban growth was primarily fueled by rural to urban migration as farm workers were displaced by the mechanization and consolidation of agricultural production. Consequently, rural open-country areas grew slowly, and many rural parts of the U.S. experienced absolute population decline. Such change generated

considerable concern about the "dying" rural farming community which depended on agriculture for its economic livelihood (Johansen and Fuguitt, 1984).

Much of the concern about village and rural decline was laid to rest by reports in the 1970s that nonmetropolitan areas were growing more rapidly than metropolitan areas and also were experiencing net migration gains for the first time at the expense of metropolitan areas (Beale, 1975; Tucker, 1976). Indeed, the 1970s ushered in a period of widespread population deconcentration from metropolitan to nonmetropolitan areas. The new nonmetropolitan growth was not simply an extension of peripheral metropolitan growth or part of the establishment of new metropolitan areas. Nor was nonmetropolitan growth primarily nodal in character. The population outside of and even remote from cities tended to grow more rapidly than the cities themselves (Beale and Fuguitt, 1978; Long, 1981). In fact, rural areas experienced unprecedented rates of population growth which generally exceeded rates for nonmetropolitan urban places (Lichter and Fuguitt, 1982; Long and De Are, 1982). Thus the 1970s were characterized not only by redistribution toward nonmetropolitan areas but also by deconcentration down the urban hierarchy within the nonmetropolitan sector.

Perhaps signalling a return to the pattern of population concentration observed throughout much of this century, metropolitan areas were once again growing more rapidly than nonmetropolitan areas during the early 1980s (Forstall and Engels, 1984). Indeed, during 1983-84, nonmetropolitan areas experienced net outmigration, losing on balance over 350,000 residents to metropolitan areas (Dahmann, 1986). Unfortunately, the post-1980 return to nonmetro-to-metro population concentration has shifted

attention away from questions regarding the continuation of population deconcentration within the nonmetropolitan sector. Claims of the so-called "end of the turnaround" (Forstall and Engels, 1984; Richter, 1985), however, must be tempered by evidence that either refutes or confirms a continuing pattern since 1980 of greater rural than urban growth within nonmetropolitan areas.

Our paper has three objectives aimed at providing evidence regarding recent patterns of concentration/deconcentration within the nonmetropolitan U.S. First, we examine relative rates of urban and rural growth during the 1960-70, 1970-80, and 1980-84 periods. Has the pattern of urban-rural deconcentration, which was first observed during the 1970s, continued during the slow nonmetropolitan growth period of the early 1980s? And have post-1980 changes in urban-rural population growth been spatially widespread? Here we document spatial variation in urban-rural shifts for nonmetropolitan counties differentiated by: (1) region; (2) metropolitan adjacency status; and (3) local urbanization, as measured by size-of-largest place in the county. Second, we examine shifts in the proportion of nonmetropolitan counties experiencing rural growth during 1960-84, and we document the changing proportion of counties experiencing urban-rural deconcentration. Finally, we examine temporal shifts in the character of nonmetropolitan urban-rural deconcentration. During the 1970s, urban-rural deconcentration (i.e., higher rural than urban growth rates) occurred largely in the context of both rural and urban growth. This pattern differed substantially from earlier periods, when nonmetropolitan deconcentration was primarily due to slower rural population decline than urban decline. Here we reevaluate for the 1980s the contribution of urban and rural population growth/decline to the demographic process of

deconcentration.

DATA AND PROCEDURES

The basic data for this paper are the populations of incorporated places and counties found in the censuses of 1960, 1970 and 1980 along with estimates prepared by the Bureau of the Census for 1984, published in their Current Population Report series. For this paper, counties have been designated as metropolitan or nonmetropolitan as of the beginning of each time interval considered. We believe the initial designation is preferable when comparing growth rates across successive time intervals. Given the continuous transfer of counties from nonmetropolitan to metropolitan status, this approach yields a more accurate portrayal of the situation prevailing at each time.

By relating county population totals to place totals it is possible to obtain figures for the size and growth of both places and the remainder of county population. Population concentration/deconcentration is then revealed by growth differentials between the population in incorporated places having more than 2,500 people and the remaining largely rural population. Indeed, this comparison is essentially the same as a rural-urban comparison under the previous urban definition employed by the Bureau of the Census prior to 1950. With the definition used since then, however, much territory outside such cities also is counted as urban, particularly in metropolitan areas. There the percent of the urban population (current definition) that lived in incorporated places having more than 2,500 people was 82 in 1960 and dropped to 76 in 1980. Conversely, only a little more than one-half of the people not living in incorporated cities were rural in 1960 and about four out of ten were rural

in 1980. The fit is much better in nonmetropolitan areas, however, where the percent of the urban population living in incorporated places greater than 2,500 ranges from 93 to 89 between 1960 and 1980, and the population not living in such incorporated places ranges from 96 to 93 percent. In other words, our distinction between those living inside and outside incorporated places over 2,500 in size comes reasonably close to the current rural-urban distinction for nonmetropolitan areas, but not for metropolitan areas. By comparing changes in the urban place population with the remainder we are considering evidence of population concentration in cities or a tendency for dispersion from them.

In both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas the population not living in an incorporated place includes: (1) the densely settled fringe around cities (whether captured by the urbanized area definition or that around smaller places); (2) residents of unincorporated places of any size; and (3) the open country consisting of population not usually identified as village-like or nodal. In addition, the population outside cities (i.e., not living in places of 2,500 and more) includes those villages which are incorporated and have less than 2,500 people. In 1980 incorporated villages were about 18 percent of the nonmetropolitan population outside cities of 2,500. Unfortunately, the population residing in the fringe around nonmetropolitan cities or in the open country balance is not easily estimated since the thickly settled territory around cities is not delimited in census reports. Less than one percent of the nonmetropolitan population living outside places of greater than 2,500 is found in officially designated urban fringes in 1980. (The comparable figure for metropolitan areas is 23 percent). The important point here is not to consider the other population or the population outside cities simply as

rural "open country," even in nonmetropolitan areas.

In calculating growth rates, places are classed by size at the beginning of each time interval. Because our 1984 population estimates for small places are assumed to be unreliable, only aggregate totals for groups of cities having more than 2,500 population are considered here. The population outside cities may include places which are under 2,500 at the beginning of this period but over 2,500 by the end, and the population considered in places over 2,500 may include cities which have declined to under 2,500 by the end of the period. By following the same places over time, however, we avoid obvious problems due to the reclassification of places. Using the initial metropolitan designation, about one-third of the growth classed as outside metropolitan and nonmetropolitan cities for 1960-70 was actually in places that were over 2,500 by 1970. This tendency was diminished in 1970-80, however, when corresponding percentages were 22 for metropolitan and 11 for nonmetropolitan areas.

Although county areas remain constant over time in these comparisons the place boundaries may change, since much of the population growth of cities is associated with the annexation of new territory (Klaff and Fuguitt, 1978). This is a factor which we cannot control over the time periods examined. If peripheral growth is accompanied by political annexation during an interval it represents city growth in our analysis. On the other hand, peripheral areas that are not annexed contribute to growth in the other (or rural) population. Most growth, after all, must occur at the outer edges of places, which raises questions about when this peripheral growth is extraordinary. The answer would appear to lie in the extent to which growth outside places is not restricted to the thickly settled areas around these places. As we shall see, the recent upturn in

nonmetropolitan growth outside cities is not explained entirely by city fringe development since much is in counties which have no cities. Also in many parts of the country field studies have pointed to the dispersed nature of much of the new nonmetropolitan settlement (Appalachian Regional Commission 1980; Voss and Fuguitt 1979; Hart, 1984).

The results that follow reveal several remarkable changes since 1960 in the growth patterns and the distribution of population both outside and inside incorporated places of different sizes. Although lacking in the rigor we would like, evidence of a shift toward deconcentration -- even in remote rural areas — is based on conventionnl procedures and is consistent with other evidence of recent trends in population distribution. The findings based on the data and analytic tools at our disposal hardly appear to be artifactual or entirely an extension of conventional urban growth.

FINDINGS

Beyond the Turnaround: Trends Through 1984

To evaluate evidence of continuing urban-rural deconcentration, annualized growth rates are presented in Figure 1 for 1960-70, 1970-80, and 1980-84 for places over 2,500 and other areas outside these places.[1] Metropolitan rates are also provided for purposes of comparison. Indeed, for 1960-70, rapid growth in metropolitan smaller cities (column B) and areas outside cities (column C) clearly indicates not only a pattern of metropolitan concentration but deconcentration within Metropolitan Statistical Areas. Not surprisingly, rural-urban concentration also occurred within nonmetropolitan areas during the 1960s. By the 1970s, large metropolitan cities declined absolutely, and the nonmetropolitan population outside cities increased dramatically, as processes of U.S.

population deconcentration accelerated. The early 1980s subsequently revealed a decline in all growth segments except places over 50,000, which bounced back to growth faster than in the 1960s. The metropolitan population outside cities was no longer growing faster than the smaller places, and the nonmetropolitan population outside cites was growing only slightly faster than the nonmetropolitan population in incorporated places above 2,500 population.

Regional variations in these trends are also clearly apparent in Figure 1. Unlike the pattern of concentration revealed for the nation as a whole, the Northeast was already experiencing nonmetropolitan deconcentration during the 1960s. During the turnaround period of the 1970s, each region experienced faster rural than urban growth. By the early 1980s, metropolitan places over 50,000 in each region declined less or grew more than they did in 1970-80, and indeed growth levels exceeded those of 1960-70 in the South and West. Except for the Northeast, the most rapidly growing segment was incorporated metropolitan places less than 50,000 in size. Within nonmetropolitan areas, the slight tendency for deconcentration found for the U.S. overall was a balance of a strong differential rural growth in the Northeast, slightly greater rural than urban growth continuing in the Midwest and West, and a shift from deconcentration back to a low degree of urban concentration in the South. This post-1980 shift in the South occurred following a period of substantial population loss outside cities in the 1950s to a gain exceeding that of cities in the 1970s. Thus overall nonmetropolitan deconcentration, though much reduced and overshadowed by regional shifts away from the North, was still continuing in three out of four U.S. regions in 1980-84.

Although this analysis suggests a continuing pattern of

nonmetropolitan deconcentration during the 1980s, it may well be that nonmetropolitan rural growth is simply extended growth beyond metropolitan boundaries. Consequently, in Figure 2 growth rates are provided for nonmetropolitan counties distinguished by whether they were physically adjacent to counties classified as metropolitan at the beginning of each time period.

These data reveal that during the 1960s the U.S. pattern was one of deconcentration in adjacent counties and concentration in nonadjacent counties, strongly suggesting a suburban-like growth radiating out from metropolitan to nonmetropolitan areas. Within regions this pattern was found only in the Northeast where nonadjacent counties also showed deconcentration to a high degree. In the 1970s, however, deconcentration occurred uniformly across all regions in both adjacent and nonadjacent counties, a shift suggesting accelerated rural growth even in remote areas.

The post-1980 period produced growth differentials favoring the rural population in adjacent counties, but rural rates were again lower than urban rates in nonadjacent areas for the U.S. (top panel, Figure 2). Moreover, overall growth levels were much lower in the Northeast and Midwest, though in the former region a strong deconcentrating trend continued into the 1980s. In the South concentration in counties both adjacent and nonadjacent to metropolitan centers was apparent, but this region also had the strongest evidence of an adjacency effect favoring growth near metropolitan centers. Nonmetropolitan rates were by far the highest in the West in 1980-84, ranging upwards to two percent a year. There was little difference in growth rates between rural and urban segments for this region.

Was the deconcentration in nonadjacent counties in the 1970-80 period

due to the development of what might be termed "incipient metropolitan areas?" That is, is it basically peripheral growth around larger cities in nonadjacent counties, perhaps indicating a metropolitan-like pattern of extended suburbanization? This issue is examined by dividing nonadjacent counties by the size of the largest place in the county at the beginning of each time period. For each portion of Figure 3, the first bar represents the incorporated places over 2,500 in counties having at least one place over 10,000 in size and the second bar is the other population in such counties. The next two bars are for places over 2,500 and for the other population in counties with the largest place between 2,500 and 10,000, and the last bar is for the rate of population change in counties having no place over 2,500 (i.e., essentially rural counties).

In 1960-70 for the U.S. as a whole there was a concentrating pattern into counties with larger cities. In such counties, however, the population outside cities was growing as rapidly as that in places over 2,500 in size. Places over 2,500 in other counties were growing almost as rapidly, but the outside-city population in these counties was declining. As before, the Northeast was quite different, already showing a strong deconcentration pattern with absolute declines in both place categories. The patterns for other regions were generally consistent with the U.S. as a whole.

The shift to a deconcentrating pattern across all regions during the turnaround decade is clearly revealed in these data (Figure 3). Deconcentration occurred both around larger places, and also around places 2,500 to 10,000 in population size, with outside city rates higher than those for cities. Furthermore, completely rural nonadjacent counties, the segment presumably most removed from conventional urban influence, were

growing more rapidly than either nonadjacent place segment, regardless of region. The rapid growth of completely rural counties is known to be associated with recreation, retirement and geographic amenities found in many parts of the country. On the other hand, outside the more densely settled Northeast the most rapid growth sector in the 1970s was for the areas outside cities in counties having cities over 10,000 population. Deconcentration around the larger cities, including those away from existing metropolitan areas, is an important component of this deconcentration process.

In the post-1980 period the U.S. rates were quite uniform across the nonmetropolitan nonadjacent segments. In particular the rate for the other population in counties having large cities had once more dropped to a level equal to that of cities. The other three segments were only slightly lower. Again, the Northeast stands out as continuing the deconcentration pattern, with substantial absolute decline for both urban place categories, and the greatest growth (though at only about one-half the level of 1970-80) found for the completely rural counties. All rates were quite low in the Midwest, and the only segments showing even a small amount of growth are those for counties with cities over 10,000. Growth in the South is higher and more uniform across the segments and the same is true for the West, where rates are generally twice the size of those in the South.

In summary, the nonadjacent pattern in the Northeast was one of deconcentration throughout the entire 24-year period. Other parts of the country, however, underwent a remarkable transition over this time period from one supporting concentration into "incipient metropolitan area" counties to one with major growth outside urban places in all locations during the 1970s. The 1980s have brought back a more subdued pattern of

almost uniform growth across the city and outside-city segments. Consequently, the most recent situation is one of lowered growth, particularly in areas that underwent the most change between the 1960s and the 1970s, which contributed to a more undifferentiated pattern of population change.

Deconcentration Within Nonmetropolitan Counties

To assess more completely the extent of deconcentration in nonmetropolitan America we have extended our analysis to the county level. The aggregate rural and urban population change compared in the preceding section showed a general shift toward deconcentration with greater growth outside places over 2,500 population. Such aggregate rates give greater weight, however, to counties having larger populations and do not necessarily reveal the "typical" population changes experienced by individual nonmetropolitan counties. Nonmetroplitan areas may be experiencing faster rural than urban growth in the aggregate, but the majority of nonmetropolitan counties may nonetheless be experiencing faster urban growth. If rural and urban growth rates are calculated for each nonmetropolitan county, we can determine the percentage that grew in their rural and urban sectors, and those that deconcentrated by experiencing faster rural than urban growth. This has been done for 1960-70, 1970-80, and 1980-84, with urban again defined as the population in places 2,500 or more at the beginning of each decade. These places are then followed across the time intervals to indicate the amount of urban growth or decline. Change in the balance of the county population (i.e., the difference between county and urban place population) is termed here rural growth or decline.

The percentage of nonmetropolitan counties with total, urban or rural growth is shown in Table 1.[2] Only about one-half of all nonmetropolitan counties grew over 1960-70. By 1970-80, eight of ten counties grew, and two-thirds continued to do so during the 1980-84 period. Completely rural counties (i.e., no place 2500 or more at the beginning of a decade) showed a similar pattern, from less than 40 percent growing in the 1960s to more than 70 and back to 63 percent growing during 1970-80 and 1980-84.

Total rural counties may be compared with the rural parts of urban counties. The fact that more than one-half of the rural parts of urban counties grew over 1960-70, compared to less than 40 percent of the completely rural counties, suggests some deconcentration around nonmetropolitan cities. Indeed, fully two-thirds of the rural parts grew in counties having places with 10,000 people or more in 1970, whereas the rural parts of other urban counties were less likely to be growing than totally rural counties.

By 1970-80, however, more than 80 percent of the rural parts of urban counties were growing and the differential by whether or not there was a major center in the county had almost disappeared. During this decade the proportion of rural parts growing in urban counties was higher than for the urban parts, and the completely rural counties were about as likely to grow as the urban parts of counties.

Although the downturn in the 1980-84 interval was widespread, competely rural counties and the rural parts of other urban counties continued to experience growth rates well above 1960-70 levels. Moreover, the rural parts of these counties continued the 1970-80 pattern of higher growth proportions than corresponding urban segments.

The results here closely parallel those previously presented comparing

aggregate growth rates. The turnaround decade was one in which the likelihood of rural growth greatly increased in all three county settings, and exceeded corresponding urban segments. And once again, the 1980-84 period is one of retrenchment but not a return to the pre-turnaround 1960-70 pattern of population concentration.

But what about urban-rural concentration or deconcentration within individual nonmetropolitan counties? Here we restrict attention to counties having cities of 2,500 and over at the beginning of a decade, and show the proportion of counties in which rural growth exceeded urban growth. Because deconcentration has always been considered more characteristic around large cities, Table 2 provides tabulations by whether or not the county includes a place of 10,000 population or more at the beginning of each period, and also by whether or not the county is adjacent to a county classed as metropolitan at the beginning of the decade.

During the 1960-70 period only about four out of ten nonmetropolitan counties with cities could be classed as deconcentrating (top panel of Table 2). As expected, this percentage was even smaller in less urbanized counties where only 32 percent had differential rural growth, and in larger counties with cities of 10,000 and over, one-half of which were deconcentrating. Similarly, regardless of size of largest place, counties that were not adjacent to metropolitan counties were considerably less likely to be deconcentrating than adjacent counties, and this differential was greater in counties with larger cities. Overall, the 1960-70 period can be characterized as one of nonmetropolitan population concentration within counties, particularly in more rural and remote settings.

By 1970-80, however, this pattern had shifted substantially. More than two-thirds of the counties were deconcentrating overall, with six out

of ten deconcentrating in counties without large cities and more than three quarters doing so where large cities were present. The absolute increase in this percentage across the two decades, however, was larger in more rural counties and largest in the nonadjacent counties without a city of 10,000 or more. Since these are the groups of counties that had the lowest proportion deconcentrating, the effect is to move toward a more uniform rate across counties distinguished by nearness to metopolitan areas and local urbanization. It seems remarkable that in the 1970-80 period more than one half of the more rural nonadjacent counties experienced faster rural than urban growth.

For 1980-84 there was modest decline to about 60 percent in the proportion of counties deconcentrating, but also a further convergence in differences by nearness to a metropolitan areas and level of local urbanization. That is, most of the shift back to concentration occurred in counties having cities of 10,000 or more, and among the other counties, those not adjacent to metropolitan areas retained the same percentage (57) as in 1970-80. Across the three time periods between 1960 and 1984 there was overall a 23 percentage point increase in the percent of all nonmetroplitan counties deconcentrating, from 38 to 61. For counties having large cities at the beginning of a time period, however, the percentage point increase was 11, and in other counties with any city it was 27. The latter difference was larger (31) for counties in nonadjacent settings. Since the increased prevalence of deconcentration was most marked in more rural and remote counties between the 1960s and the 1970s and the decline between the 1970s and the early 1980s was zero or less there, the differences between these four county groups in the likelihood of deconcentration had almost diappeared in 1980-84.

The remaining panels of Table 2 give the results for the four regions of the United States. Almost all of the counties in the Northeast have been deconcentrating since 1960, but the proportions were even higher in the last two time periods, when in fact 100 percent of the nonadjacent county groups had higher rural than urban growth. In the highly urban and metropolitan Northeast, however, nonadjacent areas represent a very small and continously declining set of counties.

The changing levels and patterns for the three other regions were similar to each other and to the United States as a whole as discussed above. All county groups in all three regions had a higher proportion deconcentrating in 1970-80 than in 1960-70. Similarly, the proportion deconcentrating was less in the 1980s than the 1970s in all other groups except those not adjacent to a metropolitan area and located in the Midwest. These proportions, however, still remained above the 1960-70 period for all groups except two that were in the West.

Types of County Concentration and Deconcentration

The patterns of rural and urban growth may take on a variety of forms. Counties may concentrate by experiencing: (1) faster urban than rural growth, (2) urban growth with decline in rural areas, and (3) slower urban decline than rural decline. Conversely, deconcentrating counties undergo either: (1) faster rural than urban growth, (2) rural growth and urban decline, or (3) slower rural than urban decline. The distributions of these various combinations of growth have exhibited some rather substantial changes for nonmetropolitan counties over the 24-year period from 1960 to 1984, as is seen by comparing the columns of Table 3.

In the 1960s the dominant pattern was one in which county urban places

were growing and areas outside cities declining in population. This was particularly true for counties without a larger city. In the 1970s the mode was the first deconcentration category for counties with rural growth greater than urban growth. This was true of 45 percent of the counties, the highest percentage in the table. By 1980-84 this category was still the mode but it stood out less from the others and the percentage had dropped to 28. Even when counties were concentrating after 1970, more than one-half were doing so in conjunction with rural growth. In the 1960s twice as many counties were experiencing urban growth and rural decline than rural decline and urban growth, but the situation almost exactly reversed for the next two time periods.

The largest decline in a deconcentration category in the transition from 1970-80 to 1980-84 was for rural growth greater than urban growth, the same category that increased the most between 1960-70 and 1970-80. Rural growth with urban decline was somewhat less likely to be found in counties having large cities in the later time period, but in both types of counties there was a countervailing increase in the percentage of counties having rural decline less than urban decline. Obviously, patterns of differential city and noncity growth and decline have undergone a significant change in many parts of nonmetropolitan America, but the deconcentration within counties became much more prevalent in the 1970s and is still widespread.

The above patterns are generally found for the regions of the country outside of the Northeast (data not shown). The increase between the 1970s and the early 1980s in the percentage of counties having rural decline less than urban decline was concentrated in the Midwest, however, where the more rural counties had an absolute increase in the percentage deconcentrating for this reason. In the most recent time period this was the pattern for

about one third of the deconcentrating counties in the Midwest, but was true for less than 10 percent of the deconcentrating counties in other regions.

The Northeast differed from the others in that almost all of the nonmetropolitan counties were classed as deconcentrating (see Table 2). The major deconcentration type for this region, however, was rural growth with urban decline, but the modal and often major type for the other regions, except for the Midwest in 1980-84, was rural growth greater than urban growth. Consequently, unlike previous periods, within-nonmetropolitan county deconcentration was occurring largely in the context of both urban and rural growth for most parts of the U.S.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The 1970s saw a widespread pattern of population deconcentration within the United States. This included population decline in the nation's largest cities, a continuing pattern of metropolitan suburbanization, more rapid growth in smaller than larger Metropolitan Statistical Areas, population redistribution away from the densely-settled North, and a reversal in growth patterns between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas. In this paper, we have examined several aspects of recent changes in the process of population concentration/deconcentration within the nonmetropolitan United States.

We have shown that the 1970s produced a widespread pattern of growth favoring rural over urban nonmetropolitan areas, affecting most areas of the country and types of counties. More significantly, this unprecedented pattern of urban-rural deconcentration continued during the 1980s, despite a diminution in overall levels of nonmetropolitan growth and a return to

faster overall metropolitan than nonmetropolitan growth. The metro-nonmetro turnaround may be over — at least from a statistical point of view — but the urban-rural turnaround continues. Assertions regarding processes of population concentration must accommodate the fact that rural population growth remains an important component of overall nonmetropolitan growth in the 1980s. Although considerable regional variation continues, it seems appropriate to conclude that since 1970 population redistribution patterns in nonmetropolitan America are no longer supporting rapid concentration into cities. Indeed, deconcentration into smaller towns and rural areas may well prevail in most local areas on a long-term basis.

Differential growth (or decline) favoring rural areas may signal a halt to the longstanding pattern of centralization in many parts of nonmetropolitan America, but these intracounty growth differentials remain an issue of continuing policy concern. For example, the trend toward deconcentration may exacerbate fiscal pressures on nonmetropolitan urban centers as their tax bases deteriorate at a time when they may be subjected to growing demands of residents in surrounding rural areas who make use of various community services. In the past, such concerns have usually been limited to discussions of the impact of suburbanization in metropolitan areas, but have now taken on added importance in many nonmetropolitan regions of the United States.

Another policy concern is that differential rural growth in nonmetropolitan areas may hasten the conversion of prime agricultural land for residential purposes (Brown, Heaton, and Huffman, 1984). Evidence to support this premise is scanty, but the need in future research to relate land use to population changes at the local level is clear. A parallel problem is possible pressure on other environmental resources, particularly

those related to recreational amenities. Population densities remain very low in most nonmetropolitan rural areas, but in many parts of the country available prime scenic property is becoming scarce through rapid settlement.[3]

Finally, improvements in transportation and communication technology have undoubtedly allowed population and economic activity to be more dispersed than previously. Problems of congestion, new processes of production, the declining population dependent upon agriculture, as well as the preferences of many people for living in low density areas have helped fuel the deconcentration process that extends from the regional to the local county level of analysis. At a more general level, changes in industrial structure, as America participates in an increasingly interdependent world economy, undoubtedly play a part in these residence shifts. Although local population deconcentration is still the rule throughout nonmetropolitan America, some concentration tendencies are nevertheless evident, and the present decade has not simply been a repeat of the 1970s. Our difficulties in making more confident predictions about the future concerning population deconcentration reflect in large part the interdependence between this demographic process and many interrelated aspects of our economy and society.

FOOTNOTES

1. The formula is:

$$\text{Rate of population growth} = \frac{P2 - P1}{K(1/2)(P2 + P1)}(100)$$

where P1 and P2 are the populations of a unit at the beginning and the end of the period, and K is the length of the time interval, either 10 or 4 1/4 years (Shryock and Siegel, 1971:378-80). One-fourth is added to the latter interval because the 1984 estimates are as of July 1 and the census dates are April 1.

2. Of the 2,741 nonmetropolitan counties in 1960, 1,001 had no urban population as measured here. Of the 2,627 in 1970, 920 had no urban population of the 2,384 nonmetropolitan counties in 1980, 820 had no urban population. The total number of counties with urban populations by largest place in county is given in Table 3.

3. As an example, real estate agents in a northern Wisconsin county that was part of the national nonmetropolitan turnaround because of its attractive amenities have asserted that although the demand for new housing has declined since the late 1970s, this has not been true for lake-front property, which has continued to increase in value.

REFERENCES

Appalachian Regional Commission. 1980. Settlement Patterns Study Preliminary Results. Unpublished memorandum.

Ballard, Patricia L. and Glenn V. Fuguitt. 1985. "The Changing Small Town Settlement Structure in the United States, 1900-1980." Rural Sociology 50:99-113.

Beale, Calvin L. 1975. The Revival of Population Growth in Nonmetropolitan America. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Development Division, Bulletin ERS-605.

Beale, Calvin L. and Glenn V. Fuguitt. 1978. "The New Pattern of Nonmetropolitan Population Change." Pp. 157-177 in K. K. Taeuber, L. L. Bumpass, and J. A. Sweet (eds.), Social Demography. New York: Academic Press.

Brown, David L., Tim B. Heaton, and Benjamin L. Huffman. 1984. "Sociodemographic Pressures on Farmland Value in Nonmetropolitan America." Social Science Quarterly 65:789-802.

Dahmann, Donald C. 1986. Geographic Mobility: March 1983 to March 1984. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 407.

Forstall, Richard L. and Richard A. Engels. 1984. Growth in Nonmetropolitan Areas Slows. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Fuguitt, Glenn V. and Calvin L. Beale. 1976. Population Change in Nonmetropolitan Cities and Towns. Washington, D.C.: Economic Development Division, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture. Agricultural Economics Report No. 323.

Hart, John Fraser. 1984. "Population Change in the Upper Lake States." Annals of the Association of American Geographers 74:221-243.

Johansen, Harley E. and Glenn V. Fuguitt. 1984. The Changing Rural Village in America. Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger.

Johnson, Kenneth M. and Ross L. Purdy. 1980. "Recent Nonmetropolitan Population Change in Fifty-Year Perspective." Demography 17:57-70.

Lichter, Daniel T. and Glenn V. Fuguitt. 1982. "The Transition to Nonmetropolitan Population Deconcentration." Demography 19:211-221.

Long, John F. 1981. Population Deconcentration in the United States. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Government Printing Office. Special Demographic Analysis 81-1.

Long, Larry H. and Diane DeAre. 1982. "Repopulating the Countryside: A 1980 Census Trend." Science 217(September):1111-1116.

Richter, Kerry. 1985. "Nonmetropolitan Growth in the Late 1970s: The End of the Turnaround?" Demography 22:245-262.

Shryock, Henry S. and Jacob S. Siegel. 1971. The Methods and Materials of Demography. Washington, D.C.: GPO.

Tucker, C. Jack. 1976. "Changing Patterns of Migration Between Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan areas in the United States: Recent Evidence." Demography 13:435-444.

Voss, Paul R. and Glenn V. Fuguitt. 1979. Turnaround Migration in the Upper Great Lakes Region. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Department of Rural Sociology, Applied Population Laboratory, Series 70-12.

Weber, Adna F. 1899. The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century. New York: Macmillan.

Table 1
PERCENTAGE OF NONMETROPOLITAN COUNTIES WITH URBAN OR RURAL GROWTH BY LARGEST PLACE IN COUNTY, 1960-1984(a)

Type of county & urban, rural segment	1960-70	1970-80	1980-84
All nonmetro counties	52	82	68
All Rural counties	38	72	63
All urban counties			
rural part	53	84	72
urban part	68	73	61
Largest place 10,000+			
rural part	69	90	76
urban part	68	70	66
Other urban counties			
rural part	31	81	70
urban part	69	75	58

(a) Urban in this table refers to incorporated places having more than 2500 people at the beginning of a time interval; rural refers to other places and the nonplace population. This classification of places, and the largest place and nonmetropolitan designations were as of 1960 for 1960-70, 1970 for 1970-80 and 1980 for 1980-84. Zero change is regarded as growth.

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE OF NONMETROPOLITAN COUNTIES DECONCENTRATING BY SIZE OF LARGEST PLACE IN COUNTY, ADJACENCY TO A METROPOLITAN AREA AND REGION, UNITED STATES, 1960-1984[a]

	1960-70			1970-80			1980-84		
	Total	Largest Place		Total	Largest Place		Total	Largest Place	
		10,000	Other		10,000	Other		10,000	Other
UNITED STATES									
Total	38	52	32	68	79	63	61	63	59
Adjacent	47	59	39	74	84	68	63	64	62
Not Adjacent	32	46	26	61	71	57	58	61	57
NORTHEAST									
Adjacent	87	88	86	96	100	89	93	92	94
Not Adjacent	92	93	92	100	100	100	100	100	100
MIDWEST									
Adjacent	47	63	40	72	86	65	62	66	60
Not Adjacent	26	40	19	48	63	42	62	68	60
SOUTH									
Adjacent	37	52	31	72	80	68	61	59	62
Not Adjacent	29	43	22	64	71	62	54	60	52
WEST									
Adjacent	44	37	51	72	77	67	52	57	47
Not Adjacent	43	51	40	75	81	73	51	39	55

a. Urban in this table refers to incorporated places having more than 2500 people at the beginning of a time interval; rural refers to other places and the nonplace population. This classification of places, and the largest place, nonmetropolitan and adjacency designations were as of 1960 for 1960-70, 1970 for 1970-80 and 1980 for 1980-84. A county is deconcentrating if its rural growth exceeds its urban growth. Zero change is regarded as growth.

Table 3

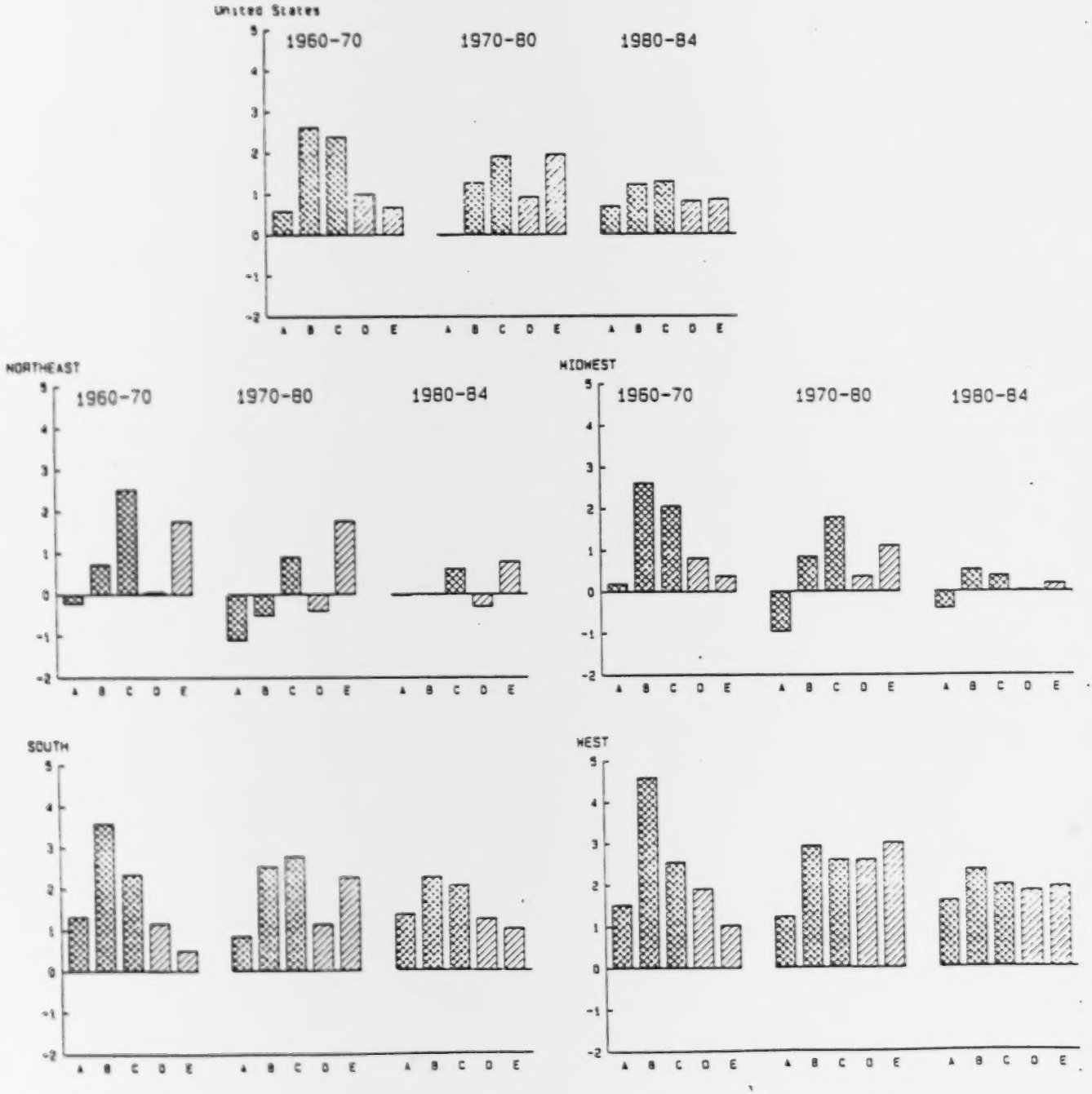
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NONMETROPOLITAN COUNTIES HAVING URBAN POPULATION BY TYPE OF POPULATION CONCENTRATION/DECONCENTRATION, UNITED STATES 1960-1984[a]

	1960-70			1970-80			1980-84		
	Total	Largest Place		Total	Largest Place		Total	Largest Place	
		10,000	Other		10,000	Other		10,000	Other
Concentrating Counties									
Urban growth GT rural growth	20	21	19	18	13	21	23	22	23
Urban growth, rural decline	29	20	34	11	7	12	11	11	11
Urban dec. LT rural decline	13	7	16	3	1	4	6	4	7
Subtotal	62	48	69	32	21	37	40	37	41
Deconcentrating Counties									
Rural growth GT urban growth	19	21	16	45	50	42	28	33	25
Rural growth, urban decline	14	27	10	21	27	18	21	21	22
Rural dec. LT urban decline	5	4	6	2	2	3	11	9	12
Subtotal	38	52	32	68	79	63	60	63	59
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No. of Counties	1,740	583	1,157	1,707	578	1,129	1,564	510	1,054

a. Urban in this table refers to incorporated places having more than 2500 people at the beginning of a time interval; rural refers to other places and the nonplace population. This classification of places, and the largest place and nonmetropolitan designations were as of 1960 for 1960-70, 1970 for 1970-80 and 1980 for 1980-84. Zero change is regarded as growth.

Figure 1

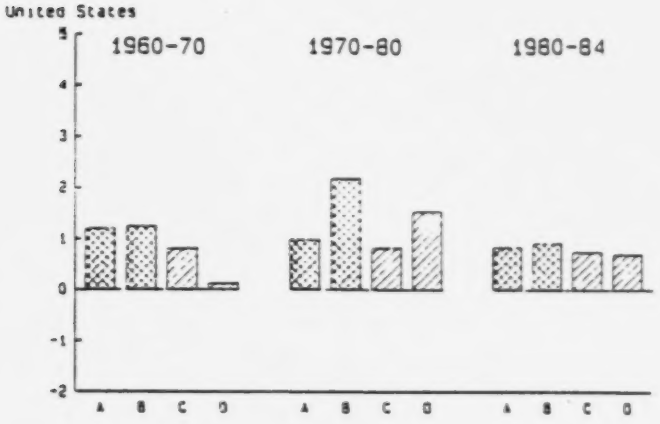
Annualized Population Change for Urban Places and Other Territory in Metropolitan and Non-metropolitan Areas, 1960-70, 1970-80, 1980-84

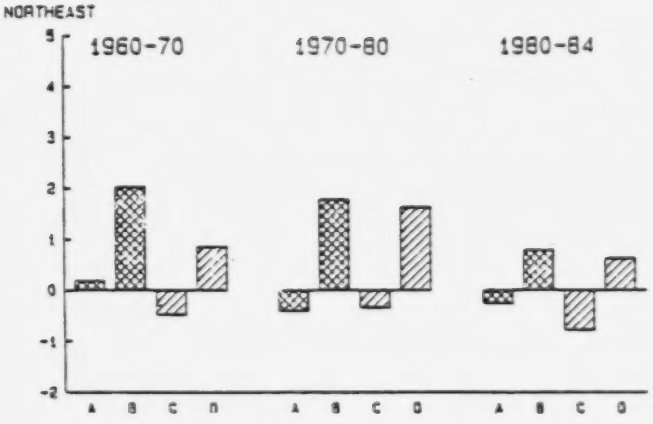


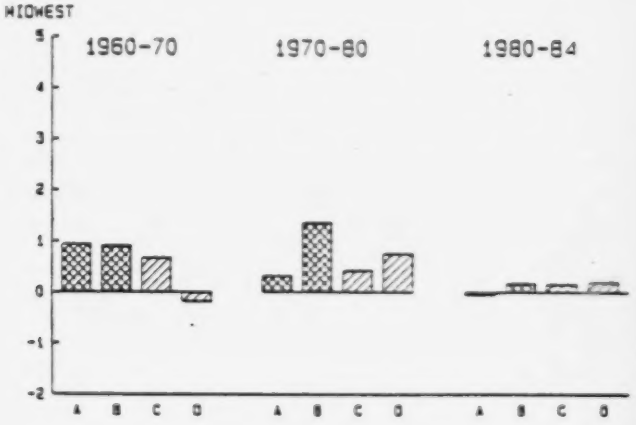
A=METRO PLACES 50,000+
B=METRO PLACES 2,500 TO 50,000
C=METRO OTHER
D=NONMETRO PLACES 2,500+
E=NONMETRO OTHER

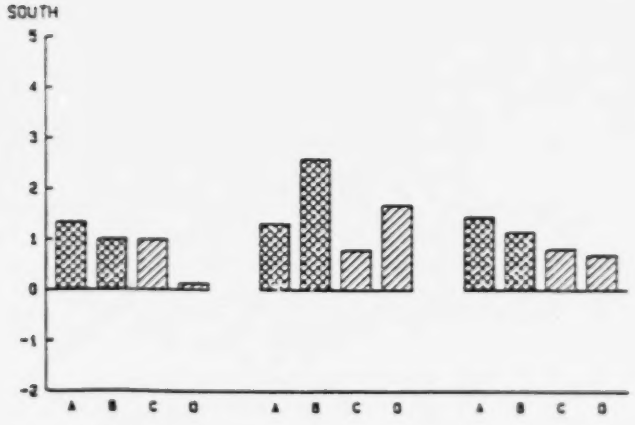
Figure 2

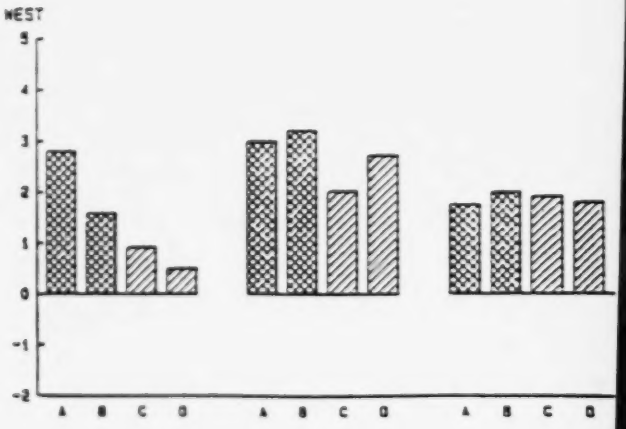
Annualized Population Change for Urban Places and Other Territory in Adjacent and Nonadjacent Nonmetropolitan Counties, 1960-70, 1970-80, 1980-84







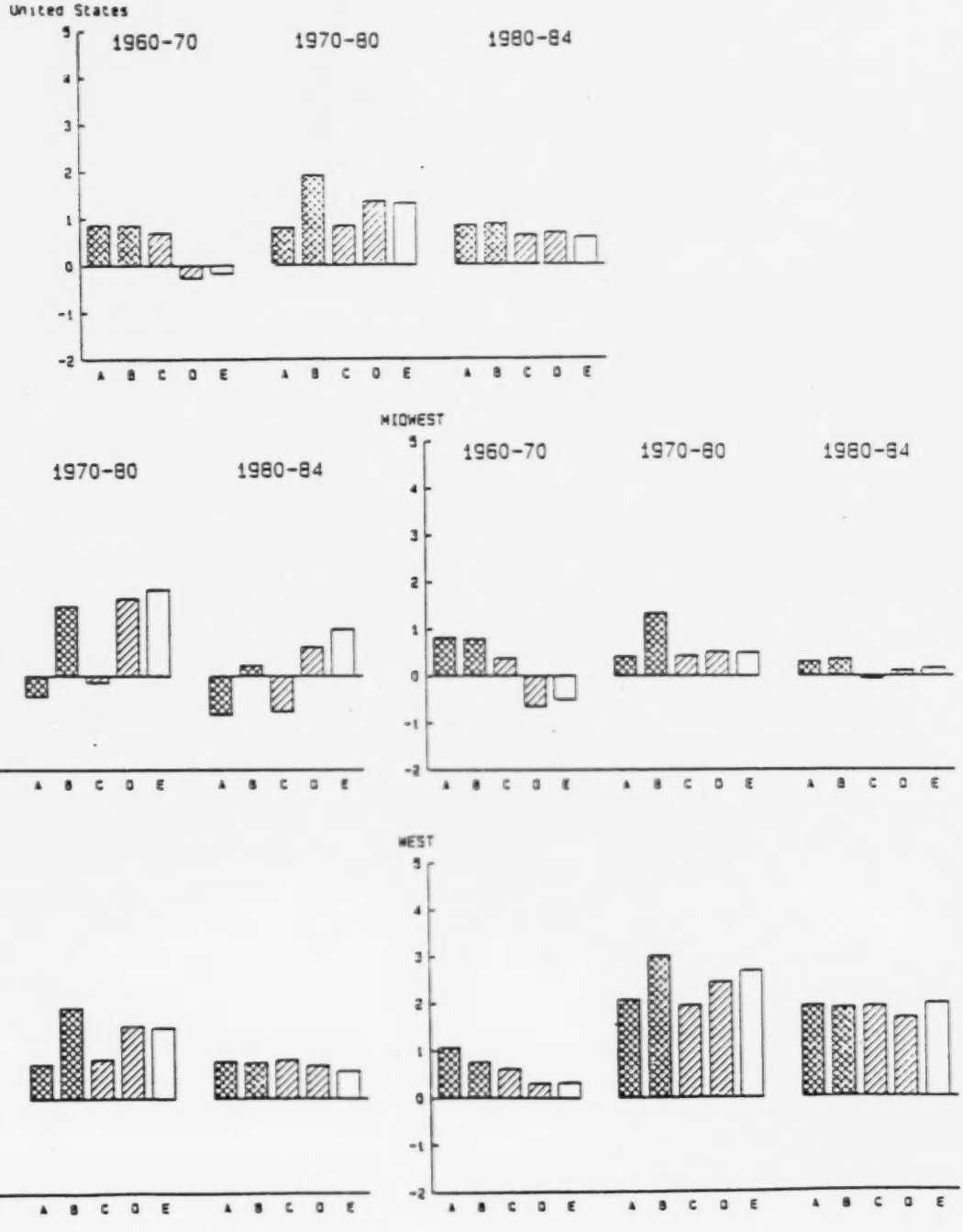




A=ADJACENT PLACES 2500+
B=ADJACENT OTHER
C=NONADJACENT PLACES 2500+
D=NONADJACENT OTHER

Figure 3

Annualized Population Change for Urban Places and Other Territory in Nonadjacent Nonmetropolitan Counties by Size of Largest Place in County



A=SLP 10,000+, PLACES 2500+
B=SLP 10,000+, OTHER
C=SLP 2,500-10,000, PLACES 2,500+
D=SLP 2,500-10,000, OTHER
E=SLP LESS THAN 2,500

Mailing Address:

Center for Demography and Ecology
University of Wisconsin
1180 Observatory Drive
Madison, Wisconsin 53706-1393
U.S.A.